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ABSTRACT

This study presents an analysis of the speech of twenty-five informants, who were born in eastern Kentucky or southern West Virginia. Six of them were interviewed in Kentucky, where they still live; the others now live in Chicago, in an area known as Uptown. The phonological data is described in terms similar to the Chomsky-Halle feature analysis of English, but not strictly so. The rules describing dialectal variation--diafeature rules--are of a different character from those proposed by most generative linguists but the rules do involve feature specifications and underlying forms, rather than a strictly phonemic approach. The major conclusions are three in number: (1) There were no significant linguistic differences between informants still living in Kentucky, those who have lived all their lives in Uptown, and those who have moved to Uptown fairly recently. This conclusion must be regarded as tentative, however. (2) The diafeature approach to structural dialectology is practicable. (3) There are few grammatical features which are at all nonstandard in the informants' speech, and all these features occur with an average frequency of thirty percent. (Author)

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A STUDY OF APPALACHIAN SPEECH IN A NORTHERN URBAN SETTING

June 30, 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
National Center for Educational Research and Development

PREFACE

This project, like any of its kind, could never have been completed without informants, and access to these informants was gained through the Uptown Area People's Planning Coalition, headed by Reverend Charles Geary. Bill Yamaguchi, a member of the executive board of the Coalition, was primarily responsible for securing the Uptown informants, and also provided deep insights into the problems faced by the Appalachian population in Chicago. The informants interviewed in Jackson, Kentucky, were secured with the help of Kitty and Hiroshi Okano, of Lees Junior College. Betty Jacobsen, my research assistant, did most of the interviewing in Uptown, and provided the basis for the quantitative analysis of the linguistic variables. A. L. Davis and Mackie Blanton, colleagues at Illinois Institute of Technology, volunteered hours of help with the analysis itself. Raven I. McDavid, Jr. provided excellent advice all along the way. I owe special thanks to Roger Shuy, of the Center for Applied Linguistics and Georgetown University, who read the manuscript and made numerous invaluable suggestions. To all these people I owe my profound thanks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background for the Study

Because of changing economic, social, and educational patterns in the middle decades of this century, an inadequate handling of standard English has become a formidable barrier to upward mobility for many minority groups. In the past few years, much attention has been directed toward the linguistic behavior of Black Americans, and much has been learned in this area. William A. Stewart 1966, Walter Wolfram 1969, and William Labov 1970 have made a significant contribution demonstrating that the English of Blacks is not a matter of "bad grammar" or haphazard mistakes, but, rather, of a different grammatical system and different linguistic norms from those of the dominant culture.

Now, however, another group, also with special needs and less visible than Blacks, should receive the attention of educators in our northern cities. This group--Appalachian Whites--have been coming north in increasing numbers. Like many Blacks, many Appalachian in-migrants speak a non-standard variety of English, but their dialect and that of Blacks differ in significant ways. For one thing--and this is the most important difference--the Appalachians come from a dialect area known as "Midland," while most Black in-migrants living in the North have come from the deep South.

Studies of Midland speech are extremely few in number, and those of Appalachian speech are even harder to come by. The principal investigator for this report has published a preliminary study of the speech of Blue-Grass Kentucky (Davis, 1970), and some of the features of Appalachian English seem to exist there as well. But there are few satisfactory linguistic analyses of Appalachian speech at present. Joseph Sargent Hall's monograph, The Phonetics of the Great Smoky Mountain Speech (1942) is not only quite dated now, but shortly after its publication Raven I. McDavid, Jr. described the work as using a "fundamentally bad methodology, both in field work and analysis" (McDavid 1943:195). Other studies are even more dated, or highly specialized (Williams 1961a, 1964).

The only major work on Appalachian English has been on its lexicon. The best of these studies are by Cratis D. Williams, in several volumes of Mountain Life and Work, published by the Council for the Southern Mountains (See Bibliography). The worst vocabulary studies try to show some relationship between modern Appalachian English and the English of the Age of Elizabeth, and hence have perpetuated the myth that the mountain man is backward in his speech. In 1936, Bess Alice Owens wrote:

Folk speech in the Cumberlands has a Shakespearian flavor. Like the family names, customs, characteristics, and ballads of this region, it takes us back to the days of good Queen Bess....(Owens 1936:89)

Miss Owens also talked of "characteristically Elizabethan speech," even though the vast majority of those who settled the Cumberland plateau came from England in the Eighteenth Century--long after 1604, the year in which Elizabeth died (Caudill 1962:3-10).

More recently, William A. Stewart 1967 wrote "Language and Communication Problems in Southern Appalachia," but, in spite of his title, Stewart deals more with the language of Blacks than with the language of Appalachia. In addition, his informants came from metropolitan and suburban areas of the Midland rather than from what has been traditionally considered Appalachia proper. And up to this point there has been no work which approaches Appalachian speech as a linguistic problem in the North.

Because the studies by Cratis D. Williams, cited above, and others have concentrated on vocabulary, and because there has been no recent in depth linguistic analysis of Appalachian speech, this project was designed to (1) provide a detailed description of the pronunciation of Appalachian in-migrants to Chicago, (2) show where the informants' grammar is different from that of the dominant culture in Chicago, and (3) provide recommendations to educators who must design programs for use in schools attended by Appalachians. There have been analogous studies of the speech of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in recent years, notably Labov et. al. 1968, Williamson 1968, and Wolfram 1969. These and other studies have established a

sound scholarly tradition in the study of nonstandard dialects; this project, it is hoped, should extend our knowledge into a new and significant area, one into which increasing numbers of Appalachian in-migrants are forcing dialectologists concerned with the educational problems of minority groups.

As the work on the project progressed, in fact in the first days of the analysis of the recorded interviews, a not unexpected problem arose. Because of the great masses of data collected, a means of compressing the results into a readable form had to be sought; and such means could not in any way obscure two related facts: (1) there is great variety in the phonology of the dialect in question and (2) people tend to be quite inconsistent in their linguistic behavior; that is, they do not always say the same word the same way every time.

In order to solve this problem, the principal investigator examined the work of scholars such as Weinreich 1954 and Moulton 1968, who have suggested a "structural dialectology." The diafeature analysis of the data, discussed in detail in Chapter III should contribute a model on which such a structural dialectology can be based. It does allow for inconsistency within a phonological framework; in fact it uses that inconsistency as a mainstay.

The grammatical analysis in Chapter IV is based principally on the model proposed by Labov 1966 and modified slightly by Wolfram 1969; that is, certain grammatical variables of the informants are analyzed quantitatively. Because of the inconsistent nature of linguistic behavior, quantitative procedures are the only ones which yield significant results. For a comprehensive discussion of this problem, see Labov 1966:28-62.

No introduction to a dialect study could ever be considered complete without mentioning the research conducted under the auspices of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. The Atlas has sampled approximately sixty informants in Appalachia, but no results have been published as of this writing. Raven I. McDavid, Jr. has studied the vocabulary of the region (McDavid in press), and that research should be available shortly. In any event, the Atlas did not sample urban areas adequately, as those connected with it are quick to admit, so as

interesting as the published results might be, they will not add significantly to the conclusions described in the following chapters.

The Community Investigated: Uptown

The Appalachian community in Chicago is a fairly recent phenomenon, beginning only after World War II. The neighborhood in which they live--Uptown--is a section of Chicago approximately four miles from the Loop. Its boundaries are Lake Michigan on the east, Foster Avenue on the north, Clark Street on the west, and Irving Park on the south. Like the poor everywhere, however, the Appalachian in-migrants suffer from high rates of unemployment and low levels of education. According to the 1960 census, the 1960 median for school years completed was approximately the tenth grade; however, because Uptown also includes the rich along Lake Michigan's shores, the educational level for the poor is really much lower than that.

Most in-migrants to Uptown do not come to stay, or so they hope. Most are looking forward to the return home, and, in fact, many do return to the mountains for short visits. Even those born in Uptown do keep constant contact with relatives back home.

In June, 1970, a survey of the area (bounded by Wilson and Montrose Avenues, north and south, and the CTA tracks and Racine Avenue east and west) revealed that 55.1% of the population was on welfare. An additional thirty per cent of those responding had incomes under 5000 dollars per year (UAPCC 1970:16).

A. L. Davis 1969 has described a fictional but thoroughly typical male of school age who is definitely "well off" by Uptown standards. The description is quoted here in its entirety:

C. J. Miller: John and Helen Miller live in a five-room flat with their five children. They decided three years ago that they had to leave eastern Kentucky when a cousin wrote that he might be able to get John in with him at the factory. They sold off whatever they could, packed the kids in their old Chevrolet and came to the City. At first they all doubled up

with the cousins, sleeping on pallets all over the house. It was fun. They talked way into the nights. "Remember the time old Bill's still exploded? Man, that corn he used to make would go down like soda-pop." "Mary, you heard 'bout Meg Pellett's daughter? You know, the one that was so nasty-nice? Imogene, her name was. Why, she run off with that preacher!" Then John got on the afternoon shift at Becker Electric and they found a flat down the street in the next block. John is a fork-lift operator and makes \$2.60 an hour and takes home \$90 to \$120 a week depending on whether he gets any overtime.

The Millers now feel that they are well-off. Work has been steady except for two months when the plant shut down a couple of years ago. They have been able to furnish the flat including a big TV set, and replace the old Chevrolet with a Ford stationwagon which is in good shape. John had to have the transportation to get to work and besides he says he just feels lost without a car. They have to be careful; the car and furniture payments and rent come due every month, and it costs a lot in the city to keep food on the table and the children in clothes fit for school. They often talk about going back but know that they can't.

C. J. is 17 and the eldest of the children. There are three girls age 14, 11 and 9 and his brother, Tommy who is 10. He has finally made the adjustment to the City. It was very difficult for him in the beginning. There was nothing to do around the house; he got put back at school and everything seemed so big. The only thing he wanted was to go back to the hills; maybe he could live with Grandmaw and help her take care of the farm. Now it's changed. The school and city have lost their terrors. He is a sophomore, one of the many, but well-liked for his good nature. He's taking English, in which he makes consistently poor grades,

Science for Modern Living, World History, General Shop and Gym. C. J. likes to tinker with cars and would like to be a long-distance truck driver.

C. J. has always kept out of trouble. A couple of the boys he runs with have been arrested and Johnny Smith has to report to the probation officer. He sees plenty of cops in the neighborhood. They come to the building to quiet family rows and they break up fights in the taverns. C. J. stays out of their way.

When they first came to town Helen and the children regularly attended the Baptist church. She doesn't go so often now but the younger children still go to Sunday school. One of the children says the blessing at supper. Helen reads the Bible when she feels blue.

For recreation the family visits back-and-forth with the cousins, or they just stay at home and watch TV. On Sundays they go for a drive when the weather is decent. C. J. bums around with his friends, after school and after supper, and on week-ends. They go downtown, go to the park to see if there are any girls around, catch a movie, hang around the gas-station, play catch. None of their activity is "structured."

As the oldest, C. J. has one special responsibility. He sees to it that no one picks on the other children. He has never had to do anything about it except to let it be known that he won't stand for it. He has no chores to do at home.

On the whole, one can say that the Miller family is a family in transition. They have made a good adjustment to their new life; some of the children may attend college, and their prospects look bright. C. J. could not be considered a problem. He

is simply marking time until he can get a job and be on his own. His seeming lack of motivation for Middle Class goals may be a puzzle to his teachers. The curriculum or possibly the presentation of it just leaves him cold.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

The Sample: The Rationale for a Judgment Sample

One of the major problems in dialect research involves the way in which informants are selected. Pickford 1956 attacked the sampling methods of the Linguistic Atlas because, among other things, its fieldworkers used a judgment sample rather than a random one, and her criticisms did not go unnoticed. Labov 1966 used a Mobilization for Youth sample as the basis for his New York study, and Wolfram 1969 used the Detroit random sample of Roger Shuy 1968. In both cases, however, certain parings from and additions to these samples were made. The results, with these additions and/or deletions in each case, were non-probability samples; hence no statistical methods were possible with the data.

The fact of the matter is that, as desirable as a random sample might be for dialect research, it generally is not feasible. When a sociologist, for example, samples opinion, it is relatively easy to get a large enough return to a series of questions which take only a minute or two. People are used to being asked opinions on the conduct of foreign affairs or the relative merits of political candidates. But it is quite another thing to ask a person for an hour or so of his time in a dialect interview situation.

Even if this problem could be overcome, and Labov 1966 has indicated various ways in which this might be possible, there is still another problem, perhaps unique to a study of Appalachian speech in a northern urban area like Uptown. The Uptown neighborhood is an ethnic mix, with American Indians, Blacks, Japanese, Latin Americans, and even the Gold Coast rich living in the area, in addition to the Appalachian whites. Since these people are not easily separated and identifiable, it is hard to see how a random sample of the neighborhood would produce a usable sample of Appalachian informants.

If one adds to these problems the fact that many Appalachian in-migrants are quite reticent about talking to strangers, it is easy to see why the Appalachian Speech Project (ASP) decided on a judgment sample. Such a sample, however, means that no statistical tests could be performed on the data, and, of course, there is a

real danger of a biased sample. It could, perhaps, be assumed, and indeed ASP did make such an assumption, that the willingness to talk is randomly distributed throughout the population and that this alone did not bias the sample. As for the rest, future work with Appalachian speech will either validate or invalidate these results. The criteria for the selection of the informants for the Appalachian Speech Project follow.

The Sample: Informants

Twenty-five informants were interviewed. Nineteen of these were residents of Uptown, and six were interviewed in Jackson, Kentucky, to provide a base line against which to measure the Uptown results. All the interviews were recorded on an Uher 4000 tape recorder, at the speed of 3.75. A lavalier microphone was used. Each informant was paid five dollars when the interview was completed.

All of the informants (but two, aged twenty and thirty-five) were between thirteen and nineteen years of age, and all but five were born and reared in eastern Kentucky or southern West Virginia. The five exceptions were either born in Uptown itself or have lived nearly all their lives there. They were interviewed to provide comparisons with the language of the in-migrants. The in-migrant informants have lived in Uptown between 3 months and 6 years (See Table 1).

Because the informants are a relatively homogeneous group with regard to age, education, and social class, they have been divided along the lines suggested above. Informants 1-6 are native Kentuckians interviewed in Kentucky. Informants 7-11 are native or near-native Uptowners. Informants 12-20 are in-migrants. For various reasons, the remaining five informants were not utilized as extensively, mainly because the tape recording of their interviews was of too poor a quality to permit a complete analysis. The results of these interviews, had they differed from the others, would have been noted in the text; but, in fact, there is no evidence to suggest that these five would have changed the results in any significant way.

Because of the limited number of informants, and because males predominate so, it is quite evident that this study must be considered preliminary in any over-all

study of Appalachian speech. On the other hand, however, the remarkable homogeneity of the results (See Chapter III) does suggest that enough informants were in fact sampled. There is no reason to believe, from the evidence gathered at this point at least, that sampling more informants would have added significantly to these results. On the contrary, given the lack of diversity in the linguistic behavior of the informants, fewer informants perhaps could have been interviewed. This lack of diversity is obviously the result of restricting the informants to a narrow age and educational group to provide a sample from people of school age. Of the two informants over nineteen, the younger was a drop-out from Chicago schools, and the older was back in school in Jackson, Kentucky.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire for the study was developed with a dual purpose in mind. Labov 1966 and Wolfram 1969 have shown that the best and most reliable grammatical evidence comes from free conversation, in which the informant has warmed to a subject and is talking in as relaxed a style as possible, given the obvious limitations of the tape-recorder and microphone. For this reason, care was taken to get as much free conversation as possible (at least fifteen minutes) on such subjects as childhood games and descriptions when the informant was in danger of death. The informants seemed to forget the microphone rather early in the interview, and the free conversation took place near the end of the hour. This material was used for the grammatical analysis, and as supplemental material for the phonological analysis.

Unfortunately, the desire to provide a model for a structural dialectology tended to run counter to the desire for free conversation. In order to do an adequate phonology, it was necessary to elicit vowels and consonants in as many linguistic environments as possible; hence the short-answer part of the questionnaire took approximately forty minutes, or over twice as long as the free conversation segment. The short answer section was used exclusively for the diafeature analysis.

TABLE 1
THE INFORMANTS

INFORMANT #	AGE	SEX	SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	IN UPTOWN FOR ____ YEARS
1	18	F	12	0
2	18	F	12	0
3	c. 35	F	12	0
4	19	M	12	0
5	18	F	12	0
6	19	M	12	0
7	20	M	8	18
*8	14	M	8	10
9	14	F	9	14
10	17	M	7	16
*11	18	M	7	18
*12	13	M	7	5
*13	17	M	4	2
14	17	M	10	3 months
15	14	F	7	1
16	15	M	8	4
*17	13	M	6	2
*18	14	M	8	6
*19	15	M	8	1
20	15	F	10	3 months

*Could not read well enough to read "Arthur"

The third section of the questionnaire involved a reading of Arthur the Rat (See Appendix E), and was used primarily as supplemental material for both the grammatical and phonological analyses. Not surprisingly, numerous nonstandard grammatical forms appeared in the reading passage. Seven informants in Uptown were unable to read even so simple a passage as this. Those who were unable to read are so listed in Table 1.

Biographical information for each informant was recorded at the outset of the interview (See Appendix B). The words asked for in the short-answer section of the questionnaire are listed in Appendix A.

Procedure for Analysis

After the interviews were completed, the phonetic transcription of the short-answer section of the tapes was begun. The phonetic symbols used are presented in Table 2. Appendix C provides part of one of these transcriptions for illustration purposes. The informant is a native Kentuckian, interviewed in Jackson, Kentucky. She is informant number 2.

After all the tapes were transcribed, the informants were numbered and each response on the short-answer section of the questionnaire was copied onto a list manuscript. In this way, the informants' pronunciation of each response could be easily scanned. A sample list manuscript is reproduced in Appendix D. These list manuscripts were the raw material on which the phonological analysis was based.

The grammatical analysis was handled quite differently. Labov, et. al. 1968:14 has pointed out that the major decision in a quantitative analysis of linguistic variation involves the actual variables chosen. That is, the problem as to what to count is more important than the counting itself.

In addition, the fact that all the informants are more-or-less of the same social class means that one important value of quantitative material in linguistics cannot be realized. Labov 1966 for example, found that all his New York informants used post-vocalic /r/, but that the percentage of use increased with social class. Wolfram 1968 found a similar situation with final conso-

nant clusters for his Detroit informants. Since the ASP informants represent only one class, however, all that was possible in this case was a general statement of the frequency of the forms chosen.

For each of the variables (See Chapter III), ten "potential responses" were charted. For the use of ain't, for example, ten appropriate negatives were charted, and the number of ain't's was then noted. In this case, as with the others, ain't occurred with an average frequency of 30% for the Uptown informants, though some informants were either higher or lower than this average.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Toward a Structural Dialectology

Ever since Weinreich 1954 called for a structural dialectology, many linguists have sought a way in which to reconcile the fact that Language is a structured system with the tremendous diversity among and within dialects. Weinreich himself made a start in this area, suggesting that dialects differ in two important ways: in the inventory of phonemes and in the distribution of phonemes; in the former case, one dialect may have eight vowel phonemes and another may have seven or nine. The case of distribution of phonemes can be illustrated by the case where a sound [a] may belong to /a/ in one dialect and /o/ in another. Weinreich called such a system a 'diasystem.' (Weinreich 1954:273)

What Weinreich suggested, in fact, was a systematic approach to inter-dialectally identified phonemes. Kurath and McDavid 1961 analyzed the vowels and consonants of the eastern United States, using a diaphonemic analysis in certain instances. Map 27, for example, charts "Some Diaphones of /ai/ in twice," including [ɐɪ~əɪ~ʌɪ] and [a·ə~ɑ·ə] as the two diaphonemes in question. In their synopses, however, Kurath and McDavid only listed informants' pronunciation of certain words. There are seventy such tables, listing the vowels of cultivated Atlas informants from Nobleboro, Maine, to Atlanta, Georgia. (Kurath and McDavid 1961:31-100)

What both of these approaches share, it seems, is the attempt to describe different phonemic configurations, either in terms of inventory or incidence, in an over-all system. Keyser 1963 attacked Kurath and McDavid's system because it was not descriptive enough; that is, Keyser tried to show that the application of generative rules and the ordering and re-ordering of these rules expressed generalities in English which the Kurath-McDavid approach left unexpressed. More will be said later about Keyser's success, but for now at least we can say that both Keyser and Kurath-McDavid were attempting, with different degrees of success, to formulate a system within which dialects can be described.

The desire to build such systems has developed at the same time as the theory of generative grammar. In the realm of phonology, beginning with Jakobson, et. al. 1951, the phonological model propounded by the generativists has been based on the analysis of features of sound waves. Although Harms 1968 has characterized Jakobson's first feature discussion (1951) as taxonomic, and although those now doing generative phonology generally reject acoustic measurements as a clue to phonemic oppositions, the distinctive feature analysis of English best exemplified in Chomsky-Halle 1968 is clearly the most popular theory at this writing. The theory itself is too complicated to explain in detail here, but Harms 1968 provides an excellent introduction.

In attacking generative grammar in general, and generative phonology in particular, linguists have put forth numerous arguments. For our purposes, most of these arguments can be subsumed under a general statement that, according to its detractors, generative phonology tends to obscure the complexities of spoken language in favor of an overly-simplified deductive model. For discussions in detail, see Hockett 1968 and Akhmanova and Michael'an 1969.

Rather than re-hash old arguments, it seems wise here to attempt to deal with this problem by stating two assumptions about dialects which seem to be shared by generativist and nongenerativist alike: (1) There surely is such a thing as the English Language, and that language is composed of dialects, some standard and some non-standard. (2) Within the generative framework, whether one accepts the framework or not, dialects are seen more as phenomena of surface structure than of the deep structure of phonological rules.

Leaving this discussion for a moment, let us turn to arguments in favor of a feature analysis of a language. The first is that people tend to hear features rather than individual sounds. For example, an introductory phonetics student, monolingual in English, will frequently write an unaspirated voiceless stop as voiced when the sound occurs at the beginning of a word; that is, when the customary explosion of breath is not present, the student interprets the stop within his own phonemic system as the voiced

variety. Hence he will write [da] when the informant says [ta]. To take another example, anyone who has taught English as a foreign language can attest that students often misinterpret sounds in English in terms of their own phonemic systems. Many students, for example, cannot hear the difference between fat and vat.

In both these cases, the error results not so much from a confusion of sounds as from a confusion of features of sounds. The phonetics student recognizes the alveolar quality of the sound [t], and the fact that the sound is a stop. He only mishears the voicing because of the structure of his own language. Similarly, the student in the TEFL class recognizes that both sounds are labiodental and strident, but he does not "hear" the voicing feature which distinguishes the two words.

Perhaps more important than this appeal to intuition--never an argument in its own right--there is a far more compelling reason to chose a feature analysis. Such an analysis makes dialectology consistent with the major linguistic theories of our time. Whether one accepts the Chomsky-Halle 1968 approach or the Lamb 1966 "phonon" approach, the fact remains that much linguistic theory today is based on feature analysis of one kind or another, and the intuitive sense of such an analysis makes it all the more appealing.

But now we are back to the initial problem--the way to handle complexity--since dialectologists above all recognize how inconsistent the human animal is in his linguistic behavior. Kurath 1968:6 demonstrated this recognition when he indicated some qualms concerning Labov's work in New York; Labov's graphs were "so smooth and so neat that they arouse one's scepticism." An analysis of the dialects of English must not ignore complexity, and if a feature analysis will indeed do so, then it must be scrapped.

At this point, it would be wise to examine the ways in which generative phonologists have approached problems in dialectology. Keyser's 1963 review of Kurath and McDavid 1961 has already been referred to here. Keyser pointed out that the taxonomic approach manifested in the synopses of The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States (PEAS) obscured underlying regularity,

and he undertook to explain variation within the /ai/ and /au/ phonemes in terms of two rules. One converted a to æ before a vowel and a voiceless consonant, and the second changed a to æ before u. All that was needed, Keyser maintained, was ordering of these rules to explain the alternates in Rochester, N.Y. (Synopsis 53), Winchester, Va. (Synopsis 105), Charleston, S.C. (Synopsis 136), and New Bern, N.C. (Synopsis 120).

When Keyser presented the data from PEAS, however, he simplified it to obscure some important complexities. Keyser wrote the Rochester vowels for five and twice as [aː] and [aɪ] respectively (p. 307), but they are both written as [aː] in PEAS. Similarly, the vowel in twice for Winchester is copied by Keyser as [ɐɪ] (p. 307) but in PEAS it is [ɐ̃ɪ]. The fact is that Keyser left out the shift signs, and most dialectologists would admit that the difference between [ɐ̃] and [aː] (See Table 2) is minimal at best; given the subjective nature of phonetic transcription, the two symbols, one shifted down and the other upward, could stand for the same sound. This changes the validity of the rules, to be sure. In addition, Keyser notes that the vowels [a], [ɐ], and [a] all occur as the initial element in the diphthong, yet his rules will not generate the first of the three. Nor do the rules account for vowel length.

It seems fairly certain that, to be accurate, Keyser's rules have to be reformulated, but perhaps this is not necessary, given certain underlying assumptions of the approach. Halle 1962 showed that two dialects of Canadian English, one saying [tɛɪprɛɪdɜ] and the other [tɛɪpraɪdɜ] could be differentiated by re-ordering two rules. So the basic approach noted in the above discussion of Keyser 1963 is fairly consistent among many generativists. What seems to be lacking, at least as far as dialectology is concerned, is the rigorous analysis of masses of data--the data with which all dialectologists have to deal. In his admittedly preliminary study, Bailey 1969 posits a "pandialectal grammar" involving rules, but the system seems overly complex since one would need to know all rules for all dialects before one dialect could be described.

In order to approach an answer to this problem, it would be wise to recall the two assumptions about language presented earlier: (1) There is such a thing as the English Language and (2) dialects are phenomena of surface

structure. For the latter, many linguists would prefer "late phonological rules." In any case, what will be suggested here is that descriptions of dialectal variation should involve rules which are of a totally different character from those proposed by Halle 1962 and Keyser 1963. This notion is based on the idea that a generative phonology of English, a phonology involving ordered phonological rules such as those in Chomsky-Halle 1968, provides essentially the phonology of that abstraction we all recognize as English. Beyond that, however, what will be suggested here are rules of a quite different type, at the surface of the structure, which will (1) provide a feature analysis consistent with the Chomsky-Halle approach and (2) describe faithfully both the complexity and the inconsistency of the informants' linguistic behavior.

Before proceeding to the analysis itself, however, it would be wise to spend more time with the problem and nature of linguistic inconsistency, and this inconsistency is easiest to see in the speech of bilinguals. Davis 1967 pointed out that when Yiddish speakers speak English they will often fail to distinguish /ɛ/ from /æ/ in bedroom and bathroom. That is, they sometimes say [betrum] for both words. At other times, however, they do distinguish the two. For a classical phonemicist, this problem is quite difficult. If he posits one phoneme, he ignores the fact that the contrast does seem to exist--sometimes. If he posits two phonemes, he ignores the overlapping which occurs--sometimes.

Similarly, Yiddish-English speakers never fail to pronounce the /i/ in feet, but they often will say [fi:t] for fit. To posit two phonemes would fail to show that the informants are more consistent in pronouncing the vowel of feet than they are of fit. The solution would involve overlapping, but this, in addition to inconsistency, results in a solution which would not be very descriptive.

Native speakers do much the same thing, only the degree of deviation appears to be much less. The ASP informants (often the same informant) said both [aˈgɛst] and [ɔgɛst] for August, and also said [maʊntən] for mountain. They never said [mʌntən], however. In other words, the overlapping is in one direction only for /ɔ/ and /au/. To posit two phonemes would ignore that some-

times there is no distinction between the two in the dialect in question. To posit one phoneme would ignore the inconsistency of informants who do make the distinction at times. A review of the rules later in this chapter will reveal numerous such cases.

In order to solve this problem for Yiddish-English, Davis 1967 suggested considering the /i/ and /ɪ/ in feet and fit as "target areas." In that case, the informants hit target /i/ consistently but sometimes miss target /ɪ/ as far away as /i/. For the Uptown informants, a similar solution is possible: two targets, /o/ and /au/ with the latter being hit consistently and the former being hit less so.

There are two problems which at first appear to militate against such a solution, one real and one not really a problem at all. The latter involves the choice of target areas, but this is no problem given the work of Chomsky and Halle. They and most other linguists today would agree that a discovery procedure is not essential to a viable linguistic theory.

More serious, however, is the position cited earlier which suggests that we hear features of sound waves rather than "whole sounds." For this reason, the following sections of this chapter will detail a solution in terms of features, and will also call upon the notion "target area" only insofar as one can consider a target to be somehow the output of a generative grammar of English. If the "somehow" in the last sentence sounds vague, it is hoped that this idea will become clearer in the next sections of this report.

The actual place of diafeature rules in a generative grammar is unclear at present, except that such rules obviously apply quite late. Diafeature rules could be considered a type of morpheme structure rule, but that would mean that morpheme structure rules must apply after phonological rules. At this point at least, the question must remain open as to where exactly the diafeature rules fit into a generative grammar.

The Concept of the Diafeature: The Matrix

Stockwell 1959 proposed a "phonetic grid" to describe all the dialects of English. What is proposed here is a refinement of that idea to bring it more into line with the recent developments in phonological theory, and in order to provide an adequate description of the ASP data, in all its complexity.

The phonetic alphabet used in this study is that also used by the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, which itself is a variation of the International Phonetic Alphabet. For the vowels, the alphabet is represented in Table 2. Round vowels are enclosed in parentheses.

TABLE 2
THE VOWELS

i (y)	ɨ (ʉ)	ʊ (u)
ɪ (ʏ)	ɘ (ɤ)	ʏ (ʊ)
e	ə ə	(ə) (o)
ɛ	ɜ	ʌ
æ	ɐ	ɔ
a	ɑ	σ (ɒ)

As one transcribes, he frequently hears a vowel which cannot be accurately written with one of the above symbols; that is, the sound may be in between, say, [i] and [ɪ], but slightly closer to [i]. He writes such a vowel as [i^], using a shift sign for raising. Lowering is indicated by [V^], fronting by [V<], and backing by [V>]. With respect to length, vowels may be plain [V],

slightly lengthened [v̄], or quite long [v:]. They may be nasalized [Ṽ] or not nasalized [V]. Round or unround vowels may be rounded [v̹] or unrounded [v̥].

In order to describe these various phonetic shifts, the vowels presented in Table 2 have been schematized into the grid in Table 3. The numbers along the top refer to various values for graveness (front to back), and the numbers along the left hand column refer to values for height. Hence if the vowel [i:] were in the transcription, it would receive values of [4 high] and [3 grave]. The other values in Table 3 are self explanatory. The [i:] vowel also would receive values of [5 flat], [1 long], and [2 nasal]. The values for retroflexion are, unfortunately, extremely ad hoc for Appalachian English, since only [ə] is retroflexed to [ə̣], which, with no other diacritics, would be listed as [2 retroflexed].

The section of this chapter called "Commentary on the Rules" will provide whatever sociolinguistic generalizations not stated by the rules themselves. The commentary will also provide aids in reading the rules.

The Concept of the Diafeature: Diafeature Rules

A typical rule employing diafeatures would be of the following basic form, with the target area specified on the left of the arrow:

/TA/—————→

n	grave
n	high
n	round
n	flat (round)
n	nasal
n	retroflexed

The target area could also be specified with features--those in the middle of each square on the grid presumably--but, since this would add undue complexity to the framework, it has been rejected. Braces (rather than the brackets above) indicate optional elements.

The point was made earlier that there is a great deal of diversity and complexity in the data gathered in a dialect survey, and ASP was no exception. The following are the list of phones for TA /i/:

TABLE 3
THE MATRIX AND OTHER FEATURES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1									
2		i (y)			ɨ (ʉ)			ɯ (u)	
3									
4									
5		ɪ (ʏ)			ɛ (ʊ)			ɤ (ʊ)	
6									
7									
8		e			ɵ (β)			(o)	
9									
10									
11		ɛ			ɜ			ʌ (θ)	
12									
13									
14		æ			ə			(ɔ)	
15									
16									
17		a			ɑ			σ (ɒ)	
18									

n flat

- 1 = rounded round vowel
- 2 = round vowel
- 3 = unrounded round vowel
- 4 = rounded unround vowel
- 5 = unround vowel
- 6 = flattened unround vowel

n nasal

- 1 = nasal
- 2 = nonnasal

n retroflexed (for σ only)

- 1 = strong
- 2 = normal
- 3 = none

n long

- 1 = V
- 2 = V.
- 3 = V:

i^1 , i^1 , $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1>}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1>}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, i ,
 i , $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1>}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$,
 $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$, $i^{1\sim}$.

In other words, the resultant transcriptions were all over the high front and high central vowels on the matrix. This complexity, however, can be described quite easily by revising the diafeature n values to cover a range. The results for TA /i/, then, could be summarized as follows. The numbers above the feature specifications refer to the syllabic (1) and the offglide (2).

	1	2
RULE I:/i/——	2-5 grave	2-6 grave
	1-5 high	1-3 high
	5 flat	5 flat
	1 long	1 long
	2 nasal	2 nasal

In some cases, of course, an environment must be specified. For /i/, since the results before /l/ and nasals were different, the following feature specifications are used; the slash, as in most generative phonology, indicates "in the environment of," and the horizontal line indicates the environment itself.

	1	2
RULE II:/i/——	2-6 grave	4-5 grave
	3-5 high	3-8 high
	5 flat	5 flat
	1-2 long	1 long
	2 nasal	2 nasal

/——/l/

RULE III indicates how the system can be abbreviated:

	1	2
RULE III:/i/——	RULE I	RULE I
	1-2 nasal	1-2 nasal /——[nasal]

It is now easy to see how RULE II could be abbreviated. See the next section for the final formulation of the rules.

Now that the basics of the diafeature analysis have been presented, several facts should be clear. First of all, there has been no real attempt to eliminate redundancy from the system. Even though RULE III collapses rules somewhat, the same information is presented twice. This procedure has been followed because it is felt that, given the surface nature of the rules, little would be gained by abbreviating the rules further, and much in the readability of the rules would be lost. Another aspect of the rules should also be observed. They are not ordered, except that it would be foolish to write RULE III before RULE I.

Furthermore, there is an assumption, perhaps hidden in the way the rules are formulated. If, for example, the phones $[V^{\wedge}]$ and $[V^{\sim}]$ (where $[V]$ stands for any vowel) were found, but no "unadorned" $[V]$, the diafeature specification would still cover three numbers. That is, even though the middle number were not in the data, the analysis assumes that the informants would use that vowel because they use it both raised and lowered.

This aspect of the analysis should be viewed as a plus rather than a minus. Anyone familiar with transcribing phonetically is aware how subjective such transcriptions can be. Even the best phoneticians do not expect to be totally consistent from one month to the next. For this reason, the ranges in feature specifications are certainly preferable to a list of allophones. A list such as that provided for target /i/ on page 22, in addition to being impossible to comprehend at a glance, suggests that there is a real difference between each listed phone. Such is probably not the case, and noting the range of variation alone seems a better way to describe the data.

One more point should be made before presenting the analysis of the vowels. This model is not generative in any traditional sense; the diafeature description is essentially taxonomic, in that it categorizes the variation for the individual targets. Perhaps this is the nature of dialect analysis, but what the diafeature analysis does provide is a structural description rather than a listing of allophones. Hopefully, this is an improvement.

The only abbreviations which may not be familiar are the following: M= in monosyllables; P= in polysyllables; C= any consonant

The Diafeature Analysis: Stressed Vowels

	1	2	
RULE 1:/i/→	<div>2-5 grave</div> <div>1-5 high</div> <div>5 flat</div> <div>1 long</div> <div>2 nasal</div>	<div>2-6 grave</div> <div>1-3 high</div> <div>5 flat</div> <div>1 long</div> <div>2 nasal</div>	
RULE 1a:/i/→	<div>2-6 grave</div> <div>3-5 high</div> <div>1-2 long</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>4-5 grave</div> <div>3-8 high</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>{ 5 grave</div> <div>8 high</div> <div>RULE 1 }</div> <div>/—/1/</div>
RULE 1b:/i/→	<div>1-2 nasal</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>1-2 nasal</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	/—/nasal/
RULE 2:/I/→	<div>2-5 grave</div> <div>2-6 high</div> <div>5 flat</div> <div>1-2 long</div> <div>2 nasal</div>	<div>/P/</div> <div>or</div> <div>—/nasal/</div> <div>/C/</div>	
RULE 2a:/I/→	<div>2-4 grave</div> <div>3-5 high</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>4-6 grave</div> <div>7-8 high</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>/M/</div> <div>or</div> <div>/—/C/</div>
RULE 2b:/I/→	<div>2-3 grave</div> <div>2-4 high</div> <div>1-2 nasal</div> <div>1-2 long</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	<div>5 grave</div> <div>8 high</div> <div>RULE 1</div>	/—/m/

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 2c: /I/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-5 \text{ grave} \\ 3-6, \\ 10-12 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 2b} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\text{RULE 2b}} \quad / \text{---} / \text{n/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 2d: /I/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-5 \text{ grave} \\ 4-6, \\ 10-12 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 2b} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 3-5 \text{ grave} \\ 3-6, \\ 10-11 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 2b} \end{array}} \quad / \text{---} / \text{n/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 2e: /I/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\text{RULE 2}} \quad / \text{---} \text{tautosyllabic /r/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 2f: /I/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-4 \text{ grave} \\ 2-5 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 1} \end{array}} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2-3 \text{ grave} \\ 2-3 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 1} \end{array} \right\} \quad / \text{---} \text{heterosyl-} \\ & & & \text{labic /r/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 3: /e/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-4 \text{ grave} \\ 8-12 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 1} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-5 \text{ grave} \\ \text{RULE 1} \end{array}} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 3a: /e/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ nasal} \\ \text{RULE 3} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ nasal} \\ \text{RULE 3} \end{array}} \quad / \text{---} / \text{nasal/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 3b: /e/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\text{RULE 3}} \quad \left\{ \text{RULE 3} \right\} \quad \boxed{\text{RULE 2a}} \quad / \text{---} / \text{l/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 4: /ε/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\begin{array}{l} 2-3 \text{ grave} \\ 8-12 \text{ high} \\ \text{RULE 1} \end{array}} \quad / \text{---} / \text{p/} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cc} 1 & 2 \\ \text{RULE 4a: /ε/} \rightarrow & \boxed{\text{RULE 4}} \quad \left\{ \text{RULE 2a} \right\} \quad / \text{---} / \text{m/} \end{array}$$

1
 RULE 4b: /ε/ →

2-5	grave
8-12	high
RULE 1	

 /—/r/

1 2
 RULE 4c: /ε/ →

RULE 4

 { RULE 1 } /—/back C/

1
 RULE 4d: /ε/ →

RULE 2	
RULE 4	
2	nasa1

 /—/m/
 /—/n/

1
 RULE 4e: /ε/ →

RULE 3
RULE 4

 /—/ŋ/

1
 RULE 5: /æ/ →

2-3	grave
11-14	high
RULE 1	

 / /P/

1 2
 RULE 5a: /æ/ →

2-5	grave
11-17	high
RULE 1	

RULE 1

 /—/ŋ/
 /—/s/
 /—/g/

1 2
 RULE 5b: /æ/ →

RULE 5a

 { RULE 1 } /—/f/
 /—/s/
 /—/z/

1
 RULE 5c: /æ/ →

RULE 5a

 —/r/

1 2
 RULE 5d: /æ/ →

RULE 5

 { RULE 2a } /—/P/
 or
 /—/l/

1 2
 RULE 5e: /æ/ → RULE 5 RULE 1 / — /m/ or
RULE 2a / — /n/
 /M/

1
 RULE 5f: /i:/ → 5-6, 11-14 high / — /P/
RULE 5

1 2
 RULE 6: /u/ → 5-8 grave 5-8 grave
2-6 high 2-3 high
2-3 flat 2-3 flat
1 long 1 long
2 nasal 2 nasal

1 2
 RULE 6a: /u/ → RULE 6 RULE 6 / — /1/
RULE 6

1 2
 RULE 6b: /u/ → RULE 1 RULE 6 / — /velar C/
 /front C/
 or
 /p/ — /r/

1 2
 RULE 6c: /u/ → 1 nasal 1 nasal / — nasal
RULE 6 RULE 6

1 2
 RULE 7: /U/ → 5-7 grave RULE 2a
4-6 high
RULE 6

1 2
 RULE 7a: /U/ → RULE 7 RULE 2a / — vd stops

1
 RULE 7b: /U/ → 7-9 grave / — /r/
5-14 high
RULE 6

	1	2	
RULE 8:/o/→	<div>5-8 grave</div> <div>7-11 high</div> <div>2-5 flat</div> <div>RULE 6</div>	<div>1-8 high</div> <div>2 flat</div> <div>RULE 6</div>	
RULE 8a:/o/→	<div>7-8 grave</div> <div>7-17 high</div> <div>RULE 8</div>	<div>5-6 grave</div> <div>2-3 high</div> <div>RULE 6</div>	/—/r/
RULE 9:/o/→	<div>5-8 grave</div> <div>14-17 high</div> <div>RULE 8</div>	<div>7-15 high</div> <div>2-5 round</div> <div>RULE 6</div>	
RULE 10:/a/→	<div>2-5 grave</div> <div>16-18 high</div> <div>1-2 flat</div> <div>RULE 1</div>		/p/
RULE 10a:/a/→	<div>2-6 grave</div> <div>14-18 high</div> <div>RULE 10</div>	<div>RULE 2a</div>	/m/
RULE 10b:/a/→	<div>2-8 grave</div> <div>RULE 10</div>		/—/r/
RULE 11:/ə/→	<div>6-14 high</div> <div>4-9 grave</div> <div>RULE 10</div>		/p/
RULE 11a:/ə/→	<div>5-8 grave</div> <div>10-15 high</div> <div>2-5 flat</div> <div>RULE 10</div>	<div>RULE 2a</div>	/m/

RULE 11b:/ə/→
¹ 11-17 high
² 1-2 nasal
 { RULE 2 } /w/—/n/

RULE 12:/ɔi/→
¹ 7-8 grave
² 8-14 high
 1-2 long
 2 flat
 2 nasal
 { RULE 1 }

RULE 12a:/ɔi/→
¹ { RULE 12 }
² { RULE 1 } { RULE 2a } /—/1/

RULE 13:/ai/→
¹ 15-17 high
² RULE 10
 { 1-8 high
 RULE 1 }

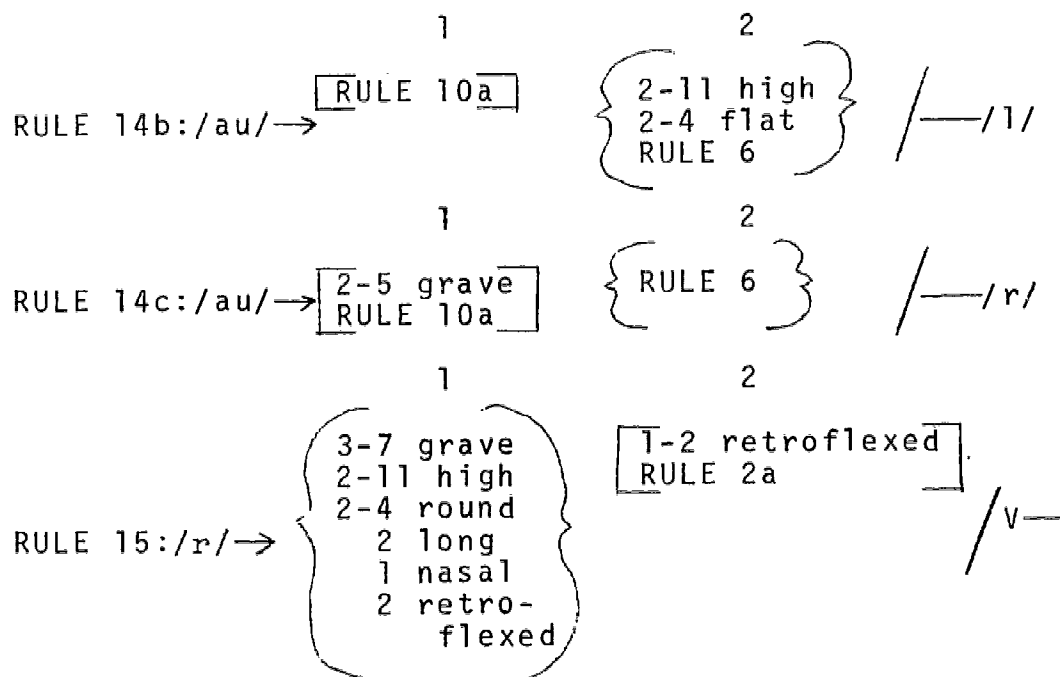
RULE 13a:/ai/→
¹ { RULE 13 }
² { RULE 1 } { RULE 2a }

RULE 13b:/ai/→
¹ { RULE 13 }
² 2-7 high
 1-2 nasal
 RULE 1 /—/nasal/

RULE 13c:/ai/→
¹ 2-8 grave
² RULE 10
 { RULE 1 } /—/r/

RULE 14:/au/→
¹ { RULE 10a }
² 2-9 high
 RULE 8

RULE 14a:/au/→
¹ 1-2 nasal
² RULE 10a
 { 1-2 nasal
 RULE 14 } /—/nasal/



Commentary on the Rules

The following commentary will be of two kinds: (1) statements about the relative frequencies of certain optional rules and (2) general remarks about aspects of the ASP data which are not totally revealed by the rules above. The necessity for these comments, of course, can be interpreted as meaning that the rules themselves are not ideally formulated. Regrettably as this may be, it remains for future work to formulate the rules more precisely.

RULE 1a: TA's /i/ and /I/ coalesce generally before /l/, except that, for the latter TA there is never an upglide. The two TA's, in general, are differentiated by the presence of or height of the off-glide.

RULE 2f: Position 2 occurs with a frequency of 25%.

RULES 4d and 4e: Note that Ta's /ε/ and /I/ coalesce before /m/ and /n/, but /ε/ and /æ/ coalesce before /ŋ/. There are also some problems best understood

in terms of the morphology rather than phonology. Deaf is frequently [dɛɪf], kettle and yesterday are pronounced with either /ɛ/ or /ɪ/, and yellow is sometimes pronounced with /æ/. The same informant will use both forms, in each case, but to include these data would only confuse what is otherwise a fairly clear picture of these TA's.

RULE 4b: TA's /a/ and /I/ coalesce with a frequency of 25% in care.

RULE 6b: This rule is not as well formulated as it could be, since there is a minimal contrast between feud and food. This contrast, however, did not seem wide-spread enough to posit either a separate TA /iu/ or some other similar solution. After alveolars, 6b is valid only 28% of the time; that is, do and due contrast in 28% of the relevant utterances transcribed.

RULE 6a: Fifteen informants have no contrast for TA's /u/ and /U/ before /l/.

RULE 7: The off-glide in position 2 occurs with a frequency of 13%.

RULE 8: For position one, the diafeature value 5-6 grave occurs with a frequency of 20%.

RULE 10a: Position 2 occurs with a frequency of 20%.

RULES 9 and 10: TA's /a/ and /ɔ/ overlap before alveolar and alveopalatal consonants. Only one informant contrasted collar and caller. The other informants use either /ɔ/ or /a/ consistently.

RULE 9: In sorry and oranges, position 1 has 2-5 flat values with a frequency of 75%. Otherwise, the rounding always occurs.

RULE 11: TA's /ə/ and /ɛ/ overlap in shut, touch, brush, twenty and judge. The informants generally used both TA's here.

RULES 9 and 12: TA's /ɔ/ and /ɔ i/ overlap in lawyer with a frequency of 50%.

RULE 13b: Position 2 occurs with a frequency of 16%.

RULE 14: [8-9 high] values occur with a frequency of 70%.

RULE 15: Position one occurs with a frequency of 40%.

RULE 13c: Native Uptowners (Informants 7-11) exhibit the use of position two 90% of the time, compared to a frequency of 45% for the other informants. This is the only case where the data revealed such a linguistic difference. Informant 3 contrasted hired [haɪəd] and hard [hɑəd], but not fire and far (both [fɑə]), while some others contrasted either both sets or neither. Two TA's are set up here to show that they always hit /a+r/ but sometimes do not hit /ai+r/. Informant 18, for example, said both [tɑ<ɪr] and [tɑ>ər] for tire.

The Consonants

As was noted in Chapter II, the analysis of the consonants will be different from that of the vowels. The resulting inconsistency, however, will hopefully be compensated for by the fact that the analysis should be easier to read and understand; there are so few cases where the ASP informants differed from the Pederson 1965 informants that one may profitably compare the latter to the former, and this procedure will be followed in this section.

On the other hand, it would be an easy matter to set up TA's for the consonants, and to base the diafeatures on a phonetic chart; that is, the characteristic [s] phone, more retracted than in the Chicago /s/, could be given a different value, [high], than the [s] normally heard in Chicago (See Pederson 1965). To do this, however, would unduly complicate the analysis; since there are few such cases, they will be noted and listed. When quantitative statements are revealing, as with consonant cluster simplification, the percentages will be noted. Where no percentages are indicated, one may assume that the informants were more-or-less consistent in their usage.

The Stops: The stops in the data showed two deviations from the Chicago norms (See Pederson 1965 for details). Initial voiceless stops are unaspirated with a frequency of 45%, and voiced stops, initially, lose their voicing quality with a frequency of between 40% and 60% depending on the informant.

The Fricatives: There is no contrast for most of the informants between [ʃ] and [ʒ], when the sounds occur finally; the latter is used here. There is, however, a contrast medially in measure and major. Both /s/ and /z/ are pronounced much more retracted than in Chicago English, but not so far back as to lose the /s/-/ʃ/ and /z/-/ʒ/ distinctions. The /s/ and /z/ also are slightly less grooved than their Chicago equivalents.

The devoicing phenomenon noted above with the stops is also true with the fricatives. Final /z/ is usually [ʒ̥] phonetically, or even [ʃ̥]. This occurs with a frequency of 87%.

Liquids: /l/ and /r/, when they occur following a voiceless consonant, are voiceless also. /l/ is strongly retroflexed, and very "clear," without much velar structure, when in prevocalic position.

Nasals: In the places where /n/ and /m/ occur finally in Chicago speech, they are sometimes dropped in Appalachian speech, with the preceding vowel's receiving its regular nasalization. This occurs with a frequency of 20%.

Consonant Cluster Simplification: The following results describe consonant cluster "simplification" in terms of the following rule:

$$C_1 C_2 \longrightarrow C_1$$

Hence, it is always second consonant which "drops." The quotation marks here are important. To speak of an informant "dropping" a consonant somehow implies that he is not pronouncing a complete word. The absurdity of such an idea is obvious. If someone says [tes] for test, the word is complete, only pronounced differently from the way someone else might pronounce it.

Several of the informants, mainly those interviewed in Kentucky, show almost no evidence of cluster simplification. Since these informants were all high school graduates, and since few of the Uptown informants were so, this limited data suggests that this might be an important sociolinguistic marker for Appalachian English.

The non-Kentucky ASP informants exhibited final consonant cluster simplification before words beginning with another consonant (as in [læs mæn] for last man) an average of 40% of the time. When the following word began with a vowel (as in [læs ækt] for last act), the average frequency was 20%.

Grammatical Variability

The most striking aspect of the informant's grammar is the small number of nonstandard features. The Uptown informants (numbers seven through twenty) used each of the following with an average frequency of 30%; i. e., ten potential responses for each of the following features were charted, and the informants used them an average of three times:

- Double negatives
- Irregular past participles
- Plural subject--singular verb (past tense only)
- Ain't

Other features, such as double comparison, occurred so infrequently as to make quantification meaningless.

The 30% figure noted above, however, is not valid for informants one through six. All of them are high school graduates, and their grammar was not substantially different from accepted norms. This obvious bias in the sample was unavoidable, given the time the principal investigator spent in Jackson, Kentucky. Future work, however, should avoid such biases.

Conclusions: Summary and Evaluation of the Findings

The conclusions of such a study are too numerous to summarize in a few pages, since this report itself is a series of conclusions about Appalachian speech in a

northern urban setting. What might be useful, however, is to summarize briefly what the study attempted and to detail how successfully it met those ends.

The diafeature analysis does describe the ASP phonological data in all its complexity. As was noted in previous chapters, however, there was only one significant difference in the pronunciations of native Kentuckians (informants one through six), native or near native Uptowners (informants seven through eleven), and the in-migrants (informants twelve through twenty)--RULE 13c, dealing with the pronunciation of TA /ai/. More work needs to be done before such a conclusion can be accepted. A significant amount of informal and anecdotal evidence suggests that there is important variation among speakers in different parts of the Appalachian region, so "Appalachian speech" itself may be an oversimplification.

Furthermore, because the native Kentuckians were all high school graduates, the grammatical data elicited from them was not strictly comparable to that of the Uptowners; the lower amount of variation among the former is nonetheless revealing, and more research is needed in this area.

The rest of the conclusions of this study are related to the surprising fact that it is not possible, from phonological evidence alone, to separate the three classes of informants. This means that, to non-Appalachian Chicagoans, even well-educated Appalachians sound non-standard. Numerous informants in Uptown reported their linguistic difficulties, and many said that native Chicagoans frequently made fun of their speech.

This suggests that phonological differences are quite important when speakers of one dialect cross into a different dialect area. Even when the Uptowners' grammar was standard they "sounded" nonstandard because of their manner of pronouncing the language. Numerous scholars have noted that certain varieties of English provoke stereotypic responses in listeners. For Appalachians, the stereotype is far from pleasant, since it has been developed by comic strips ("Snuffy Smith")

and television ("The Beverley Hillbillys," "The Real McCoys," and numerous advertisements), which depict Appalachian people almost always as humorous. Festus, on "Gunsmoke," is a humorous character, not the serious character that Matt Dillon is. Literary scholars have long recognized that we do not take comic characters very seriously and that their problems are seldom weighty ones.

If you happen to come from the Cumberland Mountains, then, your life in Chicago may not be very happy, and one of the reasons will lie in the fact that employers' stereotypes, called up by your speech, are of folks who are lazy and who seldom are taken seriously. Appalachian dialect has been a source of humor too long for these stereotypes to change quickly. Change they must, however, and much of the responsibility for this has to rest with the schools. This subject will be discussed in greater length in the next chapter--Recommendations.

CHAPTER IV

RECOMMENDATIONS

Appalachian Speech and the Schools

Any recommendations which follow from a study such as this must be based on two related facts: (1) The English of Appalachian people is a viable dialect, and the stereotypes it provokes in people are no more accurate than are similar racial stereotypes. (2) Seven of the thirteen Uptown informants could not read (See Table 1.). Three of the remaining five Uptown informants, not used in the main part of the analysis, also could not read. These ten are all "products" of the public school system, a system which has failed both the students themselves and the society which has paid the bills.

Here perhaps it would be well to consider two very different alternatives to the linguistic problems faced by Appalachian in-migrants in northern schools. Educators could attempt to change the students' dialect to make them "bidialectal," or educators could leave the students' spoken language alone, since point number one above asserts the integrity of the dialect in question.

But when someone suggests the latter, he is always challenged by someone else who points out that an adequate handling of standard English is necessary for upward mobility. No one can dispute this viewpoint, but even though one should know a standard dialect it does not necessarily follow that the schools should teach that dialect.

If we recall that the ASP data revealed only one significant difference between the speech of the educated Kentuckians and that of the less educated Uptowners, an important conclusion emerges, one noted also in the last chapter: even educated mountain speech "sounds" non-standard to most northerners. One might well point out that middle class Chicago or Boston speech sounds equally strange to mountaineers, but the middle class Chicagoan or Bostonian is seldom faced with the problem of adapting

his mores and speech to that of an Appalachian community in order to put bread on his table. So the central question is, "Should we try to replace one variety of educated English pronunciation with another?"

To answer this question, it would be well to consider again the nature of social dialects. Social dialects result from the linguistic behavior of one group, for reasons often quite complicated, calling up stereotypes in those who listen to them. For people with a French or even English "accent" in the U. S., the stereotype is frequently positive. For many Black, Mexican, and Appalachian people, it is usually negative, involving visions of lazy, careless people who "aren't quite as good as everybody else." Put plainly, this is unadorned prejudice, the kind which has caused so much grief in our country for several centuries.

The question now becomes whether we should ask our schools to help perpetuate such prejudices, particularly in view of the second point made in the first paragraph of this chapter: many Appalachian students in Uptown cannot read, even though they have had over seven years of school. Since there are so few hours in the school day, and even fewer in English classes, this study must recommend that the time be spent on reading instruction. Certainly the ability to read is more fundamental than any second dialect training, replete with pattern drills, costly tapes, and language laboratories. Perhaps, in other words, public money could be spent more wisely on reading than on re-inforcing linguistic-racial prejudices.

What form should such reading instruction take? Above all, the teacher must be aware of the linguistic facts of life concerning Appalachian English, and must not himself harbor prejudices about his students. He must, in short, know his students. The teacher must also have materials at his disposal which are geared to Appalachian speakers. Not material "written in their dialect," but rather material the students would want to read. If a phonic approach is used, the materials must be geared to the pronunciation patterns of Appalachian people. If a student says [faog] for fog, he is pronouncing the word correctly.

At the same time that such programs work with minority group students, educators must develop other programs to work with the students who belong to the dominant culture. Only in this way can we help to extirpate the prejudice at the root of the reaction of Americans to social dialects. Teachers must be trained in the facts of language, be taught that no one dialect is intrinsically better than another, and that a person's dialect alone does not give clues to how intelligent the person is. Then such teachers must teach this to their students at all levels of society. In this way, the schools, rather than being instruments for the propagation of linguistic-racial prejudices, would take the lead in ending them.

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APPENDIX A

WORD LIST FOR THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

/i/	/ɪ/	/e/	/ɛ/
green	did	rain	length
clean	big	tame	eggs
scream	live	May	keg
real	milk	apron	leg
three	crib	April	fresh
December	spill	bracelet	measure
lease	children	education	edge
key	widow	vase	less
tree	cigarrettes	cake	chest
meal	scissors	eighth	desk
weeds	children	late	twelve
breathe	chile	bait	twelfths
theater	whip	eight	bed
neither	hit	whale	bread
creek	six	wail	head
beadles	sixth	days	dead
street	sixths	Asia	wet
peel	fifth	age	bet
meat	fish	tomato	yellow
yeast	wish	fade	genuine
sweet	fist	afraid	again
tea	miss	major	tenth
grease	kitchen		tenths
greasy	sister		winter
leash	Mrs.		catch
fleas	bristles		president
bees	shrimp		umbrella
meet	chimney		vegetables
teeth	swim		February
beads	spring		September
Detroit	ink		second
league	dinner		devil
either	rinse		seven
beat	pinch		seventh
police	fifteen		seventy
			eleven
			deaf
			nephew
			yesterday
			kettle
			hell
			rather
			cemetery
			Wednesday
			pen-pin
			ten
			fence

/æ/

attic
ladder
latter
hammer
stamp
ambulance
apple
pal
January
dance
aunt
can
radish
Saturday
cab
bad
cash
ashes
splash
rag
bag
thanks
jazz
bat
sack
ask
pasture
path
math
half
calf
class
pass
grass
glass
gas
can't
ask

/u/

roof
two
pool
roots
hoofs
broom
rooms
June
spoon
afternoon
wounded
student
dues
new suit
tube
Tuesday
funeral
beautiful
cubes
mute
music
humor
July
food
soup
chew
hoop
screw
tooth
shoes
do
rouge
lose
boots
school

/ʊ/

wool
pull
bushe1
butcher
wood
foot
books
hooks
look
put
push
put it on
soot
hoofs

/o/

October
coke
yoke
elope
hotel
coat
boat
oath
boat
throw
snow
road
rode
goes
won't
home
stone
coal
whole
shoulders
November

/ɔ/

law and order
law
fought
cough
strong
daughter
moths
moth balls
frog
dog
hawk
coffee
logs
foggy
fog
frost
fall
gauge
August
always
caught
bald
because
salt
closet
sausage
haunted
wasps
washed
lawn mower
watch
water
caller-collar
chocolate

/ə/

shut
touch
brush
twenty
judge
twenty-seven
bug
gull
dull
bud
cup
bulge
rub
tongue
gums
blush
son
bulk
butt
buck
up
luck
does
his
funnel
summer
mother
buckle
Monday
Sunday
butter
nothing
once
want
one

/a/

Tommy
Tom
hospital
college
father
bottle
swallow
lock
garage
John
palm
God
gosh
Oz
cot
cob
palm
balm
hat

/au/

house
houses
crowd
loud
plow
cow
mouth
town
down
drowned
pounds
towel
owl

/ai/

library
hide
might
Friday
quiet
right ear
White House
height
ripe
five
size
twice
rice
pie
dry
high
try
aisle
time
smile
nine
ninth

/ɔi/

lawyer
coil
spoiled
boiled eggs
boiled
void
poison
voice
oysters
boys
joints
coins

/ə+r/

curl
stirrup
syrup
furrow
purse
nurse
sermon
church
girls
worms
purr
squirrel
bird
furniture
Thursday
Third
first
thirty
thirteen

/au+r/

hour
sour
flowers

/æ+r/

barrel
married
parents

/ai+r/

tire
wire
barbed wire
fire
hired
ironing
tired

/e+r/

marry
chair
theirs
stairs
scarce
dairy
care

/i+r/

zero
here
beard
this year
year

/ɛ+r/

American
merry xmas
cherry
Mary
stairs

/o+r/

four
fourteen
fourty
fourth
morning
door
porch
scotch
Florida
towards
corn
horse
forehead
hoarse
war
dwarfs
pork
fork

/a+c/

far
hard
barn
garden
heart
car
borrow
March
tomorrow
sorry
orange

/U+r/

mourning
tour
poor

/u+r/

pure

APPENDIX B
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEET

The FW does this orally with INF.

Center for American English
Illinois Institute of Technology
Chicago, Illinois 60616

NAME OF FIELD WORKER _____

— The FW begins asking questions and recording here:

NAME: _____

STREET ADDRESS CITY NAME OF NEIGHBOR- COUNTY, STATE or
 HOOD IF ANY PROVINCE

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____ AGE _____ SEX _____

OTHER COMMUNITIES IN WHICH INF HAS LIVED AND HOW LONG

SIGNIFICANT TRAVEL (INCLUDE MILITARY SERVICE): _____

OCCUPATION (SPECIFIC JOB TITLE or DESCRIPTION): _____

EDUCATION: _____

FAMILY HISTORY:

MOTHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

MOTHER'S EDUCATION: _____

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION: _____

FATHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

FATHER'S EDUCATION: _____

FATHER'S OCCUPATION _____

MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS:

GRANDMOTHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

GRANDFATHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

PATERNAL GRANDPARENTS:

GRANDMOTHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

GRANDFATHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

RELEASE:

I give my permission for the use of this recording
for educational purposes.

SIGNATURE: _____
INFORMANT

DATE: _____

SIGNATURE: _____
FIELD WORKER

DATE: _____

APPENDIX C

Sample Field Record Pages

K^h! á^oz^oIt

be^oz^od

K^hr^oI.b^o

st^oev^or^oz^o

gr^oæ^oz^os

gr^oæ^oin

l^on^o mo^or^o

r^oz^of

g^oar^oadz

w^oz^ost

r^oints

a^oz^on^oz^o

fɛ>i dɛd

ræi>g

tʰæə

bræ̃m

fə>tʰd

mɪ^θk

sæ>uɹ

g|xæəs

xʰ|ɛ̃in

bʌræ

freɪs

dɛri

mɛiθ

tsá'at it

swálon it

hə^u

fí'ar z

ve'is

bə'nd

bə'ri t

Ke'ig

hə'p

bá'rt

fí'not

ná'θing

hə'mr

APPENDIX D

Sample List Manuscript

1	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i m$	11	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} =$
2	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i m$	12	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i =$
3	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i m$	13	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$
4	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i m$	14	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge n}$
5	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i m$	15	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{i i} m$
6	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i =$	16	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon} =$
7	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$	17	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i =$
8	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^i =$	18	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$
9	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} =$	19	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$
10	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$	20	$\dot{s}kr\tilde{\varepsilon}^{\wedge i} m$

APPENDIX E

THE STORY OF ARTHUR THE RAT

Once upon a time there was a young rat who couldn't make up his mind. Whenever the other rats asked him if he would like to come out hunting with them, he would answer in a hoarse voice, "I don't know." And when they said, "Would you rather stay inside?" he wouldn't say yes, or no either. He'd always shirk making a choice.

One fine day his aunt Josephine said to him, "Now look here! No one will ever care for you if you carry on like this. You have no more mind of your own than a greasy old blade of grass!"

The young rat coughed and looked wise, as usual, but said nothing.

"Don't you think so?" said his aunt, stamping with her foot, for she couldn't bear to see the young rat so cold-blooded.

"I don't know," was all he ever answered, and then he'd walk off to think for an hour or more, whether he should stay in his hole in the ground or go out into the loft.

One night the rats heard a loud noise in the loft. It was a dreary old place. The roof let the rain come washing in, the beams and rafters had all rotted through, so that the whole thing was quite unsafe.

At last one of the joists gave way, and the beams fell with one edge on the floor. The walls shook, the cupola fell off, and all the rats' hair stood on end with fear and horror.

"This won't do," said their leader. "We can't stay cooped up here any longer." So they sent out scouts to search for a new home.

A little later on that evening the scouts came back and said they had found an old-fashioned horse-barn where there would be room for all of them.

The leader gave the order at once, "Company fall in!" and the rats crawled out of their holes right away and stood on the floor in a long line.

Just then the old rat caught sight of young Arthur - that was the name of the shirker. He wasn't in the line, and he wasn't exactly outside it - he stood just by it.

"Come on, get in line!" growled the old rat coarsely. "Of course you're coming too?"

"I don't know," said Arthur calmly.

"Why, the idea of it! You don't think it's safe here anymore, do you?"

"I'm not certain," said Arthur undaunted. "The roof may not fall down yet."

"Well," said the old rat, "We can't wait for you to join us." Then he turned to the others and shouted, "Right about face! March!" and the long line marched out of the barn while the young rat watched them.

"I think I'll go tomorrow," he said to himself, "but then again, perhaps I won't - it's so nice and snug here. I guess I'll go back to my hole under the log for a while just to make up my mind."

But during the night there was a big crash. Down came beams, rafters, joists - the whole business.

Next morning - it was a foggy day - some men came to look over the damage. It seemed odd to them that the old building was not haunted by rats. But at last one of them happened to move a board, and he caught sight of a young rat, quite dead, half in and half out of his hole.

Thus the shirker got his due, and there was no mourning for him.